1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

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Patrilineal Groups

[526] In football (palo'yapi) and other athletic games, two groups faced each other,
[302] the p'alaa"ci and the t'aŋlélé'lt'aiyadi. The former, who were called by Jack
[611] pɛ"uldlt'ai'yadi, put white paint all over their bodies and two straight white lines under each eye; the latter painted themselves red all over. Descent was paternal: Daisy Bender and Big Susie, like their father, belonged to the t'aŋldldlt'ai'yadi; Big Susie's mother and maternal grandfather were p'alaa"ci. Bill, his brothers, and his children were all p'alaa"ci, as were Dave's brothers. However, according to all informants, these groups were *not* exogamous:
[526] Dave's mother thus belonged to the same division as himself and would align herself with her fellow members in a women's game. Contradicting Bill, however, Dave says this division did not hold rigorously for the hand game, where a man might leave the losing side to join the lucky opponents.

[361] At major gatherings—usually in the spring or summer—the Washo camped
[221] in an unclosed circle or a U-curve, dances and ball games being held within
[526] this space. Then there was a *three*fold subdivision, the groups mentioned flanking a smaller central group, the t'atsilgact'ai'yadi. Jack guessed that at one meeting there might be 15 t'aŋldldlt'ai'yadi lodges and 15 or 16 pɛ"uldlt'ai'yadi, with 6 or 7 t'atsilgact'ai'yadi between them. Informants tried to clarify the
[177] matter by identifying the larger divisions with Republicans and Democrats, respectively. Henry Moses Rupert, who had worked in a printer's shop, even considered the third group equivalent to pacifists or neutrals! Henry Ridley, interviewed at Glenbrook, Nevada, said the t'atsilgact'ai'yadi might ally themselves with either of the major divisions, but according to Jack they always sided with the p'alaa"ci.

Bill derived one name from p'al, "cedar," another from t'a'ŋld, "the other side of the mountains," namely, California; in the third appellation he construed "ta'ilga"s" as corner, but left the rest unexplained. The second name
[184] indicates a local group, but the divisions were said to be common to Carson and Antelope Valley Indians.

[177] Virtually all informants conceived the grouping as fundamentally dual. Presumably the Washo borrowed paternal descent, distinctive painting, and association with festivities and games from the Miwok moiety system without taking over exogamy.

The Life Cycle

Childbirth

844 A woman—not a "doctor"—acted as obstetrician (Jack). An old woman, say
[603] the infant's maternal grandmother, cut the navel cord, which was kept until
[846] the child was big,[1] when it was thrown away. The mother ate nothing for three or four days; then the midwife washed her and the baby all over in hot water. The mother must not eat meat for a month. After that, her husband went

[1] Here Jack was obscure. I am not sure whether he did not mean until the mother's recovery.

Inheritance
is essentially lacking, but rights in eagle series and certain pinenut groves did pass on from the father and mother to their children. The Washo had a kind of "moiety" division for games at festivals, but these appear to relate more to residence than kinship. 428 616 526 574

The major concrete kinship group was the extended family. It occupied a single house (galis dangal) and was composed of one, sometimes two, nuclear families who were consanguinally related. A few more distant relatives or even non-relatives were often attached. 596

The household, in addition to being the primary kinship group, was also the basic economic and political group. It was in theory and practice an autonomous, sovereign unit of society. Beyond the household, in the wider groupings of social organization, the divisions are not clearly defined. For present purposes we can say that the levels of social organization were (1) the household (called here galis dangal after the name of the winter house), (2) the community (angale atega, "houses together"), (3) the band, and (4) the tribal territorial divisions (w¢lm¢lti, pauwalu, and hangal¢lti). 592 596 [621] [619]

There was no generic term for bands, and these, as all actual groups of people, were referred to by the name of their geographical location or the personal names of band members. The "band" is defined here as several cooperating communities from the same sector of Washo territory which came together for antelope and rabbit drives, puberty ceremonies, and other social occasions. The Washo living in the vicinity of the town of Woodfords today thus constitute a band. They comprise a collection of four communities scattered around Woodfords with close ties with the few Washo who live in neighboring Markleeville and Paynesville. Band lines were weak and existed more by the facts of economic cooperation and general social relations than by kinship or political leadership. 621 [628]

Washo bands had a less "corporate" character than those described by Steward (1938) for the aboriginal Owens Valley Paiute and certain Great Basin bands that developed after the introduction of the horse. The corporate character of the Owens Valley Paiute bands is seen in band ownership and defense of hunting and seed territories, a band chief, and band cooperation in a communal sweat house and communal irrigation. [171]

It appears that an older man (often complemented by his wife) who was economically active would attract a following of several related, and perhaps some unrelated, households to form a community around a spring or along a stream. There was no structural position for headman (d¢tumo) beyond the [592] 622

1. These two cases may be simply extensions of levirate privileges since the second marriages were to younger brothers. In one case the older brother was crippled. [587]

and slightly roasted in hot sand. This would form a sort of rouge stick. It was also applied on previously greased skin. 302 386

The yellow (waltsatsini) and black (wɛ̨lyauwi) pigments were mixed with fat or grease. Black came from a mineral, powder, or soot. These colors stayed on only a short time, the black an hour or two and the yellow slightly longer.

The white pigment (dipɛ̨k) was a chalk mixed with water that would stay about as long as the black. One place this was gathered was in the south central end of Carson Valley. [317]

One design for war was red all over and then 1/2 black and 1/2 white over that. This was thought to make the warrior partially invisible. When the tribe divided for games the west side (tanglelɛ̨l tayadi) would paint their faces red, braid their hair, and would not wear a feather. The east side (paolelɛ̨l tayadi) used white face paint and wore an eagle feather in their hair. [726] [789] [616] [526]

Houses

Ingalls (1913, 23) wrote "They are more filthy than beasts, and live in habitations which, summer and winter, are nothing more than circular inclosures, about five feet high, without roof, made of artemisia or sage-brush, or branches of cedar thrown around on the circumference of a circle, and which serve only to break the wind. As the temperature in winter must at times be as low as zero, it will be perceived they must suffer considerably. Anything like a covered lodge, or wick-e-up of any sort, to protect them from rain, cold or snow, Captain Simpson did not see among them." 342 [181] [132]

The root for house in Washo is angal. The winter house is galis dangal, the sweat house is tashmangal, and the brush blind and fishing house is ma?angal. The Washo also built a summer or temporary shelter (gadu) and a summer shade (ta?a). [192]

The galis dangal (Plate V,A) literally means "winter house", but it was used the year around or left in the summer and returned to in the winter. If it had been built by a family one winter and the next summer someone of the family died while at Lake Tahoe or elsewhere away from the galis dangal, the family would return sometime that year to the galis dangal to tear it down, leaving everything to rot. A less common alternative was to burn the dwelling. The deceased would be buried wherever he died. The practice was to tear the building down when a member of the family who had lived in it died, even if the death did not occur within the house. In recent years it became the [768] [754] [178]

T:Freed E-5 (1952-1957)1960 NT20 Washo NT20
[P.355, A]

II. WASHO SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

A number of changes have taken place in Washo social organization since the end of the aboriginal period: the form of marriage has changed from non-sororal polygyny to monogamy; the system of kinship terminology is apparently changing, as indicated by the existence of a set of alternate kinship terms; the sororate and levirate have been abandoned; and a weak system of agamous moieties has been lost. Other elements of social organization appear to have been fairly stable, e.g., rule of residence, patterns of descent and inheritance, and form of the family.

The analysis of Washo social organization given in this chapter is based on the investigations of Barrett (1917), Curtis (1926), Kroeber (1907; 1917), Lowie (1939), and Siskin (MS), and upon the following kinds of data which I gathered in the field. First, the most reliable elderly informants were intensively interviewed about all aspects of social organization both past and present. Second, kinship schedules were obtained from seventy informants ranging in age from ten to over eighty. In addition, brief life histories and census data were collected in the course of the genealogical interviews. The life histories provided information on forms of marriage. Residence rules were determined both from the census material and from the life histories, since both kinds of data are necessary to establish residence rules adequately (Fortes, 1949; Goodenough, 1956; Murdock, 1955). Finally, sociometric data using family visiting patterns as the criterion were collected with the thought that, if any incipient unilineal kinship groups were present, they might be discoverable from the pattern of interfamily visiting.

The methods used to determine change in social organization were the same as those used by Bruner (1955), Eggan (1937), Gough (1952), Nett (1952), Schmitt and Schmitt (n.d.), and Spoehr (1947). The writings of earlier investigators and interviews with older informants supplied information on changes in residence rules, kinds of kinship groups, and forms of marriage. Changes in the system of kinship terminology were determined by comparing the variant usages contained in the large sample of modern kinship schedules with what was thought to be the aboriginal Washo kinship terminology. For the Washo, the aboriginal terminology may be established with relative confidence because the early kinship schedules collected by Kroeber (1907; 1917) and Lowie (1939) agree closely with each other and with the terminological system used by the majority of modern Washo.

Terminological change has a restricted meaning here. It refers only to changes which result in a new type of terminological system. Since the widely used classifications of kinship systems are based on the consanguine relatives of ego's generation and the first ascending and first descending generations (Spier, 1925; Lowie, 1928; Murdock, 1949), a change in the nomenclature of cousins or aunts and uncles is significant whereas change in terms for grandparents' siblings or affinal relatives is not significant. The genealogical interviews conducted in this research dealt primarily with relatives critical in defining the type of kinship terminology.

surance policies. Some bitterness has been caused by beneficiaries who refuse to share insurance money with their siblings, since the latter would have inherited equally under the old system. Another change is that wives and husbands can now inherit from each other, and a third change is that parents can inherit money from their children if the latter die first. In aboriginal times, only consanguine relatives inherited, and these in descending order.

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KINSHIP GROUPS

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The Washo lacked sibs, lineages, and clans. The family was usually nuclear, often with a few, more distant relatives attached. The Washo formerly practiced polygyny and therefore possibly had some polygynous families. Whether these reached a frequency of 20 per cent, a level which Murdock uses to distinguish between societies with polygynous families (1949, p. 28) and those with monogamous families, cannot now be determined. My informants regard the old Washo family as nuclear, and it will be so classified here. The modern Washo family is nuclear but usually includes a few, more distant relatives.

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The Washo formerly had a weak system of agamous moieties whose only apparent function was to oppose each other in games at the pine-nut dance. One moiety was called *pémlelel táyadi?*, which means roughly "those who camp on the east side" (of the camp circle) or dípek gumtánu, meaning "people of the white paint." Lowie gives a third name, palaá·si (Lowie's transcription). The other principal moiety was called táqlelel táyadi?, which can be tranalated approximately as "those who camp on the west side" (of the camp circle). Members of this moiety painted themselves red and were also called sawásaq gumtánu, "people of the red paint." Members of a third "moiety" were called dayatsilgá·š táyadi? (also dewtsilgá·š táyadi?), meaning "those who camp in the corner" (of the camp circle) or "those who camp in between" (the other two moieties). They lived between the east and west moieties in the camp circle and were divided between them for purposes of playing games. This third moiety seems to have had the sole function of supplying additional members to the teams representing the other two moieties. Despite this third group, the system was fundamentally dual (Lowie, 1939, p. 304). The moiety system does not exist today.

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A person belonged to the moiety of his father, which often was his mother's moiety also. Nancy Emm reports that when persons of different moieties married, they could join whichever moiety they wished. Hank Pete claims that a woman joined her husband's moiety. Lowie says that in the hand game, a man could leave his own moiety and join his opponents if they were luckier (Lowie, 1939, p. 304).

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Two kinds of kin groups that frequently occur in bilateral societies are demes and kindreds. The deme, says Murdock (1949, pp. 62-63),

> . . . is most clearly observable in the endogamous local community which is not segmented by unilinear consanguineal groupings of kinsmen. By virtue of the rule or strong preference for local endogamy, the inhabitants are necessarily related to one another through intermarriage, although they cannot always trace their exact kinship connections. They are consequently bound to one another not only by common

[P. 364, A] In

summary, the standard Washo kinship terminology may be thought of as a compromise between a generation type and bifurcate collateral type, as might be expected from the divergent influences arising from the social structure. 601 178

The new Washo terminological system is lineal in ego's generation and the first descending generation. In the parental generation, the uncle terms are lineal but the terms for aunts remain bifurcate collateral. Can the changes in social structure, namely, the demise of the moiety system, the loss of the sororate and levirate, and the shift from nonsororal polygyny to monogamy adequately account for the terminological changes?

The first two changes in social structure appear to have no connection with the terminological changes. Exogamous moieties tend to be correlated with the bifurcate merging type of terminology; but nonexogamous moities do not have this effect, for they produce no regular alignments of kinsmen. Murdock classes societies with nonexogamous, unilineal kinship groups as bilateral (1949, pp. 161-162). The Washo moiety system was agamous and therefore exerted no noticeable influence on the terminological system. Thus its loss is probably not significant with regard to the changes that have taken place in the kinship terminology. If the sororate and levirate have an influence on kinship terminology, it is presumably toward the bifurcate merging type (Sapir, 1916). Since Washo standard terminology is not bifurcate merging, the sororate and levirate were never reflected in the terminology, and their lapsing has no apparent connection with the changes in the system of kinship terminology. [616] [616] [587]

The loss of nonsororal polygyny has been the only significant change with regard to the changes in the kinship terminology. Nonsororal polygyny is associated with kinship terminology of the bifurcate collateral type. Its loss therefore should result in some modification in the first ascending and first descending generations. In part, this has happened; bifurcate collateral terminology is disappearing for the uncle terms and in the first descending generation. However, the aunt terms have not yet merged. The emerging terminological system in ego's generation cannot be explained by the change in marriage arrangements, for the standard terms in ego's generation are not bifurcate collateral and therefore never reflected nonsororal polygyny. At best, the disappearance of nonsororal polygyny appears to be a factor in roughly one-half of the changes in the Washo terminological system. It helps explain the new terms for uncles and for nephews and nieces. It does not explain why the terms in ego's generation are changing or why the terms for mother's sister and father's sister remain distinct.

Although changes in marriage patterns probably help to undermine the bifurcate collateral terms, they do not explain why the lineal type of terminology is being adopted instead of the generation type. The only elements of social structure which Murdock gives as tending to be associated with the lineal type of kinship terminology are neolocal residence and the isolated nuclear family (Murdock, 1949, pp. 152, 157). The Washo lack these. Modern Washo social structure is more in accord with a generation type of terminology, for Washo residence is bilocal. Therefore, while changes in Washo social structure may set the stage for some of the terminological changes, they do not account for the specific form taken by the terminological modifications. In short, Murdock's theory does not provide a fully ade- 601 114 178 [585]

The Washo had weak agamous moieties whose only apparent function was to oppose each other in games at the annual pinenut dance (Freed, 1960, 361). Actually, three "moieties" were present, but one of them divided its members between the other two when participating in games; hence, the system was fundamentually dual. A person belonged to his father's moiety, which often was also his mother's moiety. When people of different moities married, they could join whichever moiety they wished. One of our male informants claims that a woman always joined her husband's moiety. Lowie says that in the hand game, a man could leave his own moiety and join the opposite moiety if it were having better luck (Lowie, 1939, 304). The moiety system does not exist today.

Settlements were very small. Lowie (1939, 303) states that the usual settlement had two to four houses, and that no village had as many as 10 houses. Neighbors were often kinsmen, but they might also be non-relatives. Modern Washo settlements are much larger than aboriginal ones; the largest, Dresslerville, Nevada, has a population of approximately 200.

Marriage

Curtis (1926, 97) and Barrett (1917, 9) report that polygyny was formerly practiced. Barrett notes that monogamy was as prevalent as polygyny. Lowie (1939, 309) says that both sororal and nonsororal polygyny existed, with a tendency to favor the sororal form because the Washo believed that strange women will fight. Barrett says that a man's choice of subsequent wives was not restricted. Both the sororate and the levirate occurred. Both were correct but not compulsory, according to Lowie. Curtis states that a widow had to marry her husband's brother if he desired her. Our informants support Lowie, both with regard to the preference for sororal as opposed to nonsororal polygyny and the noncompulsory character of the levirate. Polygyny, the sororate, and the levirate are no longer practiced. Many of the modern Washo contract a series of monogamous marriages with the earlier ones often of short duration and the later ones lasting considerably longer. Some Washo remain with their original marriage partners for life.

Role Behavior

The following descriptions of the role behavior of relatives in ego's generation and the first ascending and descending generations are based on the role profile test. The relatives of the second and third ascending and descending generations were not included when the test was given. However, a

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756 (1941, 413-14). Although the rite itself has changed but slightly since white contact and the shaman is a respected figure and widely patronized, the shaman's curing rite is on the point of disappearance because the shamans themselves are dying out. Only one remains and he was born in 1885.

The Pinenut Dance

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(787) One special man, says Hank Pete, dreamed about pinenuts and prayed for them. He was not a shaman but he had power (see Freed and Freed, 1963). He prayed that the pinenuts increase in number and not be full of worms. This man was the leader of the pinenut dance and was the person who decided whether the pinenuts were ready for picking. If people were to pick the pinenuts
(782) without the leader's consent, says Pete, the nuts would be wormy and rotten.
(535)

222 Pinenuts were probably the most important single food of the Washo.
824 The pinenut dance (gumsalʔal) was held in the fall of the year before the pinenut harvest. The leader called the people together in Double Springs Flat
527 by sending around a knotted cord. The knots represented the number of days
(791) remaining before the ceremony was to begin. The messenger untied a knot
(262) every day as he traveled about calling people. As the people assembled, the leader of the communal rabbit hunt gathered as many people as possible for a
(211) large rabbit drive, and outstanding hunters would organize communal deer
(624) hunts. The hunting drives lasted four days after which the Washo began the pinenut dance.

526 The pinenut dance lasted four nights. Each morning everyone had to
527 take a bath. During the day the Washo engaged in a variety of games and
(515) races, all accompanied by heavy gambling. People of different moieties opposed each other in the games. The most popular games were men's football,
(525) a ball race, foot races, archery contests, the hand game and women's shinny.
(616) Usually teams from the different moieties played each other in all the games.

Men's football was played on a field with goals at either end. The object was to kick a small buckskin ball between the two sticks forming the goal. Five or six men played on a side. The game began with the throwing of the ball between the two teams in the middle of the field. Wrestling was allowed in the football game. One goal won the game.

The ball race was also played by men. Two teams arranged themselves in straight lines at right angles to a line between the paired sticks forming the goal. Each team had a ball which at the start of the game was in the possession of the team member at the end of the line farthest from the goal. The

object was to kick the ball from man to man down the line and through the goal. The first team to kick its ball through the goal won the game. Stewart (1941, 395-6) says the Washo did not have the ball race. 526 527

The foot races of both the men and women began with a challenge. One moiety challenged the other by individual members running to the center of the camp circle, depositing bets which were tied onto sticks, and retiring. People then dashed from the other moiety, which was camped on the other side of the camp circle, and called the bets in the same way. All of the betting was man to man. The identities of the runners were kept secret until the race began because shamans might have attempted some sorcery against a contestant. The race was to a halfway point and return and usually took several hours. Runners adorned themselves for the race: Indians of the East moiety painted white marks on their bodies and wore an eagle feather; those of the West moiety painted red marks (Freed, 1960, 361). The winner of the race was bathed by a female relative, and the basket was thrown into the crowd just as at the girl's puberty dance. Also, anyone from the losing side could come and take the clothes the winner had been wearing. 526 527 616 [754] [302]

Archery contests began with a challenge. The targets were two round sticks about 4 ft. high set at opposite ends of the course. Four men competed, two on a side. At each end of the course stood a member of each team. These two men shot three arrows apiece at the opposite goal. A hit scored four points; an arrow placed nearer the goal than any of the opponents' arrows counted one point. Eight or 10 points won the game. 526 527

The hand game was played by men and women. The game was played with four bones, two of which had black wrappings around them, and 10 tally sticks. The tally sticks were divided five to a side. Two men from one side hid a bone in each of their hands. A person from the other side who had the reputation of being a good gambler tried to guess the location of the bones marked with the black wrappings. The side hiding the bones scored a point if the man guessed incorrectly. Only the team in possession of the bones could score points. The game ended when one side had captured all of the tally sticks. The side with the bones sang, and the men hiding the bones sometimes played tricks such as putting both bones in the same hand to confuse and rattle the guesser. 524 527

A similar game was played by old men. They used four long sticks, two of which were wrapped as in the hand game. The sticks were hidden behind a winnowing basket, and eight tally sticks were used. The mechanics of guessing and scoring were the same as in the hand game. Stewart (1941) says the Washo did not have the hand game, but notes the presence of the game played with the winnowing basket. [887] [1147]

Thus the area in which the Washo lived was somewhat more varied than the territories of other groups, encompassing four life zones. This contrasted to the condition of the Paiute as a whole, where some bands existed in relative luxury for gatherers, and others occupied extremely inhospitable areas. The Washo, as a whole, enjoyed a fairly favorable area for hunting and gathering. In aboriginal times there seems to have been little effort to drive other groups out of the area when they entered it to hunt or gather, suggesting that the Washo felt they were amid plenty and that added exploitation would not deprive them. This does not hold for their view of the pinenut areas they utilized. They defended these with vigor, as they also defended fishing sites. There appears to have been a sufficient supply of nuts to permit very large gatherings in the fall at the beginning of the harvest season.

As with the Paiute, the Washo family appears to have been the primary unit of social organization. Families combined into bands that may or may not have had more permanence of membership than did those of the Paiute. Informants insist that families decided the course of their yearly movement independent of any band activities, either joining other bands or going on hunting and gathering treks -- often as far as the Pacific coast -- by themselves.

Band leaders had little, if any, more authority than did their counterparts among the Paiute. When bands gathered for antelope or rabbit hunting a shaman or rabbit boss took charge of the actual hunting operation as was true elsewhere in the Basin. Mountain sheep and mule deer were hunted in small informal groups, the latter occasionally in communal hunts.

The Washo recognized different areas within their territory but to what degree people or bands remained within these territories is not known. Lowie (1939, 301-52) sees incipient moiety formation in this division, but its only expression appears to have been the selection of members of teams to play games during the annual pinenut festival. Certain groups living in the mountains near what is today Woodfords were viewed by other Washo as "crazy," i.e., particularly brave, unpredictable and fierce. This was because, according to informants, these people had a great deal of association with California tribes (Downs, 1961b). The Woodfords group appears to have served traditionally as Washo "shock troops," being called upon for help whenever it was necessary to fight neighboring Indians. Freed (1960, 353) reports that a leader could assemble fighting men by sending a knotted deerhide string to his supporters. My own informants corroborated this but made it clear that no one was compelled to respond. There is no record of interband hostility even to the degree mentioned above for the Paiute.